

Kaiapohia - The Story of a Name

by Harry Evison

The ancient Ngai Tahu pa site near modern Woodend was the headquarters of the Ngai Tuahuriri hapu of Ngai Tahu until the pa's destruction by Ngati Toa and their allies under Te Rauparaha in 1831. Locally it is often referred to as Kaiapohia (which appears on the local road-sign), to distinguish it from the modern township of Kaiapoi about eight kilometres down the road. But during the last forty years many writers, academic as well as non-academic, have been using Kaiapohia as if it were an authentic Ngai Tahu name for the historic pa. Is it?

James Stack

The name *Kaiapohia* was promoted enthusiastically by James West Stack, Anglican missionary at Tuahiwi for some years during last century. In the preface to his *Kaiapohia, the Story of a Siege* (1893) Stack urged the name Kaiapohia on the good English folk of Canterbury:

I have purposely retained the name Kaiapoi for the old Pah as it was the commonly-adopted abbreviation for Kaiapohia in use amongst the Maoris, and it will help to connect the modern English town with the old Maori town of the same name. The longer name, Kaiapohia, was used in all formal speeches and in poetical compositions; and it is to be hoped that one result of giving it greater publicity amongst Europeans in the accompanying narrative, will be to induce residents in the Kaiapoi district to call themselves Kaiapohians in future, instead of applying to themselves the unmusical name by which they have hitherto been designated.

This was a time when Europeans generally thought the Maori people were dying out, and in an ecstasy of nostalgia the colony brought forth the flowery 'Maori-land' kind of writing in keeping with late Victorian bric-a-brac and sentimentality. Thomas Bracken wrote his *Lays of the Land of the Maori and Moa*, Pember Reeves and James Cowan popularized the names 'The Land of the Long White Cloud' and 'Aotearoa' (never a South Island name), while Goldie portrayed the dying race and photographers portrayed Maori maidens in sepia.

Teone Taare Tikao

Stack's *Kaiapohia* went unchallenged in the literary world for some 45 years. Then Teone Taare Tikao through Herries Beatie in *Tikao Talks* (1939) gave a Ngai Tahu view. Remarking that Turakautahi had the Kaiapoi pa built at or near a small village called Te Kohanga a Kaikaiawaru, Tikao went on:

I am not sure if there was not already a fortified place called Te Kohanga, and that Turakautahi merely took it and re-modelled it and strengthened it, and re-named it Kaiapoi. There was no doubt that it was he who gave the name because food could be swung in from every direction. Now I want you to clearly understand that the name was never *Kaiapohia*. That name is purely a North Island invention, and was first used by a Ngati Awa tohunga, who made a song at Waikanae when Te Rauparaha was coming south, and in what you might call a burst of poetical frenzy he lengthened out the word 'Kaiapoi'. The new form caught on in the North, although it does not make sense nor agree with the naming of Turakautahi; no self-respecting South Islander would use it.

Edward Shortland

Tikao's comment was at odds with the view taken by W.A. Taylor, a convinced 'Kaiapohian' and not always careful with his facts. He supported Stack's line in his *Lore and History of the South Island Maori* (1950). Taylor wrote that 'Watere Kahu of Arowhenua' used *Kaiapohia* and implied that Pita Te Hori did so too. Taylor then declared:

Long before the arrival of the so called 'First Four Ships', Edward Shortland, Protector of Aborigines, used the term Kaiapohia.

But Taylor was wrong. Shortland was unexcelled as a scientific student of Maoritanga, meticulous in his recording of traditions and place-names. He consulted learned Maori including Matiaha Tiramorehu of Moeraki who was from Kaiapoi and had been in the Ngati Toa wars with his father. Shortland would have noted *Kaiapohia* had he heard it. But in his South Island journal¹ in several references to the old pa he always writes *Kaiapoi*, never *Kaiapohia*. For example in his entry for 10th February 1844 he writes:

Te Rangitama (no [of] Ngatimamoe) was saved by him [Moki] & placed at Kaiapoi to catch eels. Afterwards his [Moki's] tuakana Turakautahi became the chief man. He was peaceful - Kaiapoi was their principal settlement.

In *The Southern Districts of New Zealand* (1851) Shortland mentions *Kaiapoi* several times² but never *Kaiapohia*.



Tamihana Te Rauparaha

Tamihana Te Rauparaha

The only possible basis for W.A. Taylor's assertion that Edward Shortland used *Kaiapohia* is the passage in chapter 13 of Shortland's *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders* (1854), titled *Te Rauparaha's Wars in the Middle Island*. Here we find the name *Kaiapohia*, but Shortland explicitly attributes the passage to Te Rauparaha's son Tamihana, and puts it in quotation marks. Tamihana Te Rauparaha's manuscript '*History of Te Rauparaha*' was written 'at his father's

dictation' in 1845, and consistently calls the Ngai Tahu pa *Kaiapohia*. This Ngati Toa preference supports Taare Tikao's account of the name's origin. Shortland presumably saw Tamihana's manuscript in New Zealand before returning to England in 1846, or while Tamihana was himself in England in 1851 and 1852.

Bishop Selwyn

Peter Maling in his distinguished publication *Early Sketches and Charts of Banks Peninsula* (page 64) has part of a map published by James Wyld of London, from the Turnbull Library collection. Dr Maling's book says of this map that it -

... belonged to Bishop Selwyn and has been annotated by him with notes and sketches. It is clear from internal evidence that this map, which bears the original's date of 1841, has in fact additions to 1846 and so must have been obtained and annotated by the Bishop at a later date.

Bishop Selwyn's map has the name *Kaiapohia* in fine print, at a deeply-indented 'Gore's Bay'. How did *Kaiapohia* come to be printed on a James Wyld map published in London in 1841 or soon after?

A close inspection of the Turnbull original of Selwyn's map reveals that the name *Kaiapohia* is very neatly hand-printed in pen and ink, along with a number of other names and items of information along the route taken by Selwyn on his voyage to the South Island in his 22-ton schooner *Undine* in 1848. Since Dr Maling's book tells us that Selwyn acquired the map after 1846, it seems reasonable to conclude that the name *Kaiapohia* was written on it about the time of his 1848 voyage.

Selwyn's map give all the appearances of having been used by him to record the information that he accumulated during his 'visitation tours' of the South Island in 1844 and 1848. He did not visit Kaiapoi on either of these tours, but Tamihana Te Rauparaha accompanied him to the South Island in 1844 and would no doubt have used *Kaiapohia* in describing his father's exploits. Selwyn might also have seen Tamihana's 1845 manuscript while Tamihana was a student at St John's College in Auckland in 1846. On Selwyn's map the location of Kaiapoi at 'Gore's Bay' near the Hurunui, about 70km north of its true position, would hardly have been given by a Ngai Tahu. These circumstances suggest Tamihana Te Rauparaha as the likely source of Selwyn's *Kaiapohia*.

Walter Mantell

Like Edward Shortland, Walter Mantell was a competent Maori linguist and had prolonged dealings with Ngai Tahu in the 1840s. He spent some months among them in 1848 and again in 1849 as Commissioner for the Extinguishment of Native Claims, with responsibility for completing the payments and laying out the reserves due to Ngai Tahu under the terms of Kemp's Purchase of June 1848. Kemp's Deed named *Kaiapohia* as the northern limit of the Purchase, but Kemp never went there. Kemp's map, like Selwyn's, placed Kaiapoi near the Hurunui.

Mantell's first task as Commissioner in September 1848 was to find out where Kaiapoi actually was. He went there, stood in the centre of the old pa, and argued with its Ngai Tuahuriri owners about whether the northern boundary of Kemp's Purchase went from there only to Maungatere (Mt Grey), as they thought, or extended to the West Coast as Kemp's map showed. Ngai Tuahuriri were highly indignant that Governor Grey had 'purchased' their Kaiapoi from Ngati Toa under his Wairau Purchase of 1847. They would sell it to no-one.

During these heated arguments about Kaiapoi Mantell camped nearby with Ngai Tuahuriri, conversing in Maori. He had a keen ear and made copious notes, but his notebooks and reports mention only the name Kaiapoi, never *Kaiapohia*. He reported to the government on 21 September 1848³:

I have further guaranteed to the Natives that the site of the ancient pa Kaiapoi shall be reserved...

On the map setting out his Tuahiwi Reserve he marked the 'Path from Tuahiwi to the Old Pa of Kaiapoi'.

The Acheron Journal

In March 1849 the survey steamer *HMS Acheron* arrived at Lyttelton to chart the coast and report on its suitability for English colonization. A shore party sent to investigate the territory north of the Waimakariri included G.A. Hansard, a clerk who was writing a journal. He visited the Kaiapoi pa

site with local Ngai Tuahuriri and recorded in his journal their account of the pa's destruction and the massacre of most of its men, women and children by Te Rauparaha. Because he could speak no Maori his hosts had to converse with him in English. Hansard repaid this courtesy by recording some of their remarks in a sort of pidgin, such as 'No forget, when you write booka-booka ... we like read all 'bout Kaipoe', no doubt so as to provide some amusement amidst the party on the *Acheron*. He also succeeded in deceiving his hosts by making off with a human bone from the pa site concealed in his clothing.

In 1978 *The Cruise of the Acheron* by Sheila Natusch was published, dedicated to 'The Descendants of the Maori Defenders of Kaiapohia'. In a chapter headed 'We Like Read All Bout Kaiapoi' telling of the *Acheron* party's visit in 1849 the author repeatedly uses the name *Kaiapohia* for the historic pa. Readers may assume from this that the name *Kaiapohia* is in the *Acheron* Journal. But such is not the case. The *Acheron* Journal has only 'Kaiapoa', except in Hansard's pidgin phrase which has the locals saying 'Kaipoe', - which is phonetically a fair rendering of 'Kaiapoi' if the first 'i' represents the Maori 'ai'.

While preparing her book Sheila Natusch kindly provided the Hocken Library with a typed transcript of the *Acheron* Journal. This typescript is now 'Ms 968' at the Hocken. At the Journal's first mention of 'Kaiapoa', Ms 968 gives in square brackets 'Kaiapohia, now Kaiapoi'. Where the Journal says 'We started for Kaipoa Pah where lived once a numerous tribe', Ms 968 amends 'Kaipoa' to 'K(a)iaipo(hi)a'. From such attentions misconceptions are borne, for although Mrs Natusch's typescript Ms 968 leaves some of the *Acheron* Journal's original 'Kaipoa's' intact it also leaves the impression that *Kaiapohia* was the proper name of the pa at the time of the *Acheron* visit.

Charles Torlesse

Captain Stokes of the *Acheron* reported favourably and preparations for the Canterbury settlement were pushed ahead. By the spring of 1849 Mantell was wrangling with Ngai Tahu over the purchase of Banks Peninsula, while the Wakefields' nephew Charles Torlesse was surveying the 'Mandeville' district north of the Waimakariri. Torlesse was no linguist, but he had almost daily contact with Ngai Tuahuriri. His journal on October 14th says 'he walked to the beach and to the old pah of Kiapoi'. On 1st December he writes of 'Old Kaipoi'. There are other mentions of 'Kaipoi' but none of *Kaiapohia*.

Did Ngai Tahu Use Kaiapohia in the 19th Century?

A Ngai Tuahuriri waiata from about 1840 published in the *Polynesian Society Journal* in 1912 begins:

E koro mai e Kaiapoi

Hurihuri mai te taringa
Te korero o te mōkai ...

The name is Kaiapoi not *Kaiapohia*.

Documentary evidence of 19th century Ngai Tuahuriri usage is found in letters which have survived from the pre-Stack era, by former inhabitants of the pa. Pita Te Hori's letters do not use *Kaiapohia*, nor do Matiaha Tiramorehu's or Teoti Wiremu Metahau's. Metehau, writing to Mantell at Akaroa in February 1849 objecting to Kemp's Purchase, says (in translation) 'Kaiapoi alone was our permanent home'.⁴ Stack described Tiramorehu as 'the best authority on Maori traditions in the South Island'. In his famous letter of protest to Lt Governor Eyre in October 1849 Tiramorehu writes of 'Kaiapoi',⁵ and in a letter to Mantell in March 1867 he writes (in translation) of 'the war with Te Rauparaha (when) we were defeated by Te Rauparaha at Kaiapoi'.⁶

Paora Taki's manuscript Ngai Tahu account of the Ngati Toa wars, dating from about 1880, uses 'Kaiapoi' throughout never *Kaiapohia*. The subject must have been a touchy one with Ngai Tahu at this time, during Stack's ministry in Canterbury. At the Kaiapoi sittings of the Royal Commission of Smith and Nairn in 1879, which Stack attended, the Ngai Tuahuriri elder Natanahira Waruwarutu testified as follows (in translation):

Commissioner Smith: Is Kaiapoi the name of a pa, a river, or what? What gives the name to the place?

Waruwarutu: The name is derived from the pa. The root of the name is with regard to the food collected for the chief of this place. It was brought from all the different places.

Commissioner Smith: Is that the name, or is it Kaiapohia?

Waruwarutu: It is the ignorance of the northern natives which has induced them to call it Kaiapohia.

Other reputable Ngai Tahu witnesses - Taare Wetere Te Kahu, Wiremu Te Uki, Ihaia Tainui, and Matiaha Tiramorehu - spoke of 'Kaiapoi Pa'. But none spoke of *Kaiapohia*.

Stack claimed that '*Kaiapohia* was used on all formal occasions and in poetical compositions'. But he gives no authority for this. The 1840 waiata quoted above does not support it. Before Stack's time in Canterbury, Lavaud, Shortland, Kemp, Kettle, Hansard, Mantell, Torlesse, Hamilton, Buller, Alexander Mackay, and Rolleston, all had formal dealings with Canterbury Ngai Tahu, but not one mentions *Kaiapohia*. Are we to believe that none of them ever attended 'formal occasions' or heard 'poetical compositions'? Shortland, Kemp, Mantell, Buller and Mackay were good linguists and would have noticed *Kaiapohia* had

they heard it. But none recorded the name *Kaiapohia*.

In 1901 the Polynesian Society Journal published Taare Wetere Te Kahu's narrative of *The Wars of Kai Tahu with Katitōa* in Maori and English. In both versions the pa is named *Kaiapohia*. Yet in his Royal Commission evidence 22 years previously Te Kahu had used only 'Kaiapoi'. The change is puzzling, but is perhaps explained by an editorial footnote to the English version in the Journal which reads:

Kai-apohia pa is not far from the modern town of Kaiapoi, which name is a corruption of the original Maori one.

The editor was S. Percy Smith, and his reputation as an authority on Maori matters is no longer as high as it once was. Perhaps he 'corrected' Te Kahu's manuscript.

Survey of Sources

A survey of documentary sources from 1840 to the present day indicates that *Kaiapohia* first appeared in Tamihana's manuscript *Life of Te Rauparaha* in 1845. The *Kaiapohia* of Shortland's *Traditions and Superstitions* derived from Tamihana, and Bishop Selwyn's seems likely to have done so too. As far as it is known, *Kaiapohia* appeared in no other 19th-century manuscript, map, or other publication until Stack's *Kaiapohia, Story of a Siege* in 1893. The next to take it up were S. Percy Smith, W.T.L. Travers, and Johannes Andersen. Writers since then have been divided on the use of the name of the historic pa, but most have adopted *Kaiapohia*.

Since Ngai Tahu do not seem to have been using the name *Kaiapohia* in the 19th century, where could Stack have picked it up? He was born near Thames in the North Island of New Zealand where his father was a missionary. But during his student days in England, before he had ever been to the South Island, Stack befriended his fellow-Anglican Tamihana Te Rauparaha in London and took that opportunity of refreshing his own knowledge of Maori, and he became a good linguist. The two were shipmates on the long voyage back to New Zealand in the immigrant ship *Slains Castle* in 1852 and landed at Port Chalmers together. No doubt during this period Stack would have become accustomed to hearing the name *Kaiapohia* from Tamihana.

The Kaiapohia Monument

The stark concrete monument unveiled by Seddon in 1899 at the old Kaiapoi pa site carries inscriptions in Maori and English. The English reads:

This monument stands on the site of Kaiapohia the first pa established by the Ngai Tahu tribe after crossing from the North Island to this district of the South Island, Turakautahi head the subtribe which founded the pa about the year 1700 first calling it the next of Kaika-a-warō. His descendants changed the name to Kaiapohia commonly known as Kaiapoi. Later the pa was regarded as the chief Ngai Tahu stronghold.

A smaller tablet set in the base of the concrete tells us:

This foundation stone was laid by the Revd Canon Stack, Oct 20th 1898.

The *Kaiapohia* monument was Stack's parting legacy to Ngai Tahu, in which was set in stone the name he had done so much to popularize. Soon afterwards he embarked for England never to return.

But his *Kaiapohia* stayed on. Natanahira Waruwarutu and Taare Tikao, although they preferred not to elaborate, clearly resented the imposition of this Ngati Toa-Ngati Awa catchphrase on their sacred mound, and with reason. From the lips of a Ngati Awa tohunga invoking annihilation against Ngai Tahu, *Kai-apo-hia* is said to convey a meaning peculiarly offensive: 'The piling up of bodies to eat'.⁷

The expression 'old Kaiapoi pa' was already in use when Stack decided to promote *Kaiapohia*. It is an expression at once more descriptive, more accurate, and less exceptionable than *Kaiapohia*. Moreover, it is authentic. To use the name *Kaiapohia* today is at odds with the historical evidence as well as with respected Ngai Tahu authorities such as Matiaha Tiramorehu, Natanahira Waru-warutu, Paora Taki, and Teone Taare Tikao.

The name *Kaiapohia* does not mihi to Ngai Tahu tradition, as some suppose. Instead it mihi to Te Rauparaha's murderous ambition 'to kill all the people of Te Wai Pounamu', in the words of Tamihana's manuscript. It would be fitting in this commemorative year if its use were abandoned.

Sources:

In sources consulted for this article the incidence of Kaiapohia and Kaiapoi as names for this historic pa is as follows, with the dates of the sources which use Kaiapohia underlined:

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| <p>1840 Information from the Akaroa chief Tuauau, in C.F.Lavaud <i>Akaroa</i> (University of Canterbury 1986, pages 24-26): in the French, Tuauau is recorded as saying <i>Kaiapoui</i>, not <i>Kaiapouhia</i>.</p> <p>1843-4 Edward Shortland, Journal (Hocken Library Ms 23): <i>Kaiapoi</i>.</p> <p>1844 David Monro writing for the <i>Nelson Examiner</i>, in T.M. Hocken <i>Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand</i> (Otago) page 236: 'a pa called Kaiapoi'.</p> <p><u>1845</u> Tamihana Te Rauparaha's <i>Life of Te Rauparaha</i> (Turnbull Library MS 2073): <i>Kaiapohia</i>.</p> <p>1847 Wairau Deed (Mackay's Compendium Vol I, page 204ff): <i>Kaiapoi</i>.</p> <p><u>ca 1848</u> Bishop Selwyn's Map (Turnbull Cartographic 830/1841/Acc. 22,1230: <i>Kaiapohia</i>.</p> <p>1848 Kemp's Deed and related reports, and Kettle's map: <i>Kaiapoi</i>.</p> <p>1848 Charles Kettle, Letterbook No 33 (DOSLI Dunedin): <i>Kaiapoi</i>.</p> <p>1848 Walter Mantell's reports and notebooks (Turnbull Library Mss 83 and Mackay's Compendium Vol I page 213ff): <i>Kaiapoi</i> throughout.</p> <p>1848 Mantell's Map of Tuahiwi Reserve (Canterbury Museum R140/8): Old Pa of <i>Kaiapoi</i>.</p> <p>1849 Teoti Wiremu Metehau's letter to Mantell, Akaroa, 22nd February (Turnbull MS 83/193): this appears to have 'Kaia Poia', with the final 'a' indistinct or possibly crossed out. However in his letter to Queen Victoria dated 2nd April 1849 (National Archives Wellington, G7/6 No. 62) Metehau clearly writes Kaia Poi for the pa.</p> <p>1849 Charles Torlesse, Journal, published in P.B. Maling's <i>Torlesse Papers</i> 1958 (see below): <i>Kaipoi</i> or <i>Old Kaipoi</i>.</p> <p>1849 Captain Thomas' Map of Canterbury (Canterbury Museum Map 115): <i>Old pah of Kaiapoi</i>.</p> <p>1849 Matiaha Tiramorehu's Letter to Lt-Governor Eyre (Mackay Vol I page 228): in this formal letter, Matiaha writes <i>Kaiapoi</i>.</p> <p>1849 The 'Acheron' Journal (Hocken MS Vol 157): <i>Kaipoa</i> and <i>Kaipoe</i>.</p> <p>1852 Canterbury <i>Surveyed Districts</i> Map (C MU 801 Sheet 2): <i>Old Kaiapoi</i>.</p> <p>1853 Edward Shortland, <i>The Southern Districts of New Zealand: Kaiapoi</i>.</p> | <p>1854 'Mandeville Christchurch & Lincoln Districts Map' (Canterbury Museum B187) 'Old <i>Kaiapoi</i> Pa'.</p> <p><u>1856</u> Edward Shortland, <i>Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders: Kaiapohia</i> published for the first time, quoted from Tamihana Te Rauparaha.</p> <p>1856 Edward Standord's Map (DOSLI ChCh Archive No 31): <i>Kaiapoe</i>.</p> <p>1857 W.J.W. Hamilton's report (Mackay Vol II page 1611): <i>old Kaiapoi Pa</i>.</p> <p>1857 North Canterbury Deed (Mackay Vols II page 381): <i>Kaiapoi</i>.</p> <p>1859 W.L. Buller's report, Mackay Vol II page 126: <i>Kaiapoi Pah</i>.</p> <p>1861 W.L. Buller (Mackay Vol II page 134): <i>old Kaiapoi Pah</i>.</p> <p>1864 Ward & Reeves Map <i>Manderville & Rangiora Road District</i> (C MU GM3/2): <i>Old Maori Pa</i>.</p> <p>1868 Wm. Rolleston (Mackay Vol II page 186): <i>Kaiapoi old pah</i>.</p> <p>1868 Kaiapoi Native Land Court proceedings (Ikaroa Minute Books 1A & 1B): <i>Kaiapoi</i>.</p> <p>1870 Unpublished Map of Kaiapoi Pa site from A.V. Macdonald survey and Alex Lean field sketch (C MU 2002): <i>Old Kaiapoi</i>.</p> <p>1871 Alexander Mackay, <i>Traditional History of the Natives of the South Island</i> (Mackay Vol I, page 47), and official reports (e.g. Mackay Vol II p339): <i>Kaiapoi</i>.</p> <p>1872 W.L.T. Travers, <i>Some Chapters in the Life and Times of Te Rauparaha: Kaiapoi</i>; thus page 64, 'the great pa at Kaiapoi', and page 65, 'Te Rauparaha proceeded at once to Kaiapoi for the purpose of attacking the pa'.</p> <p>1874 Ngai Tahu petition to Parliament (AJHR 1876 G-7): <i>Kaiapoi</i>.</p> <p>1879-80 Royal Commission of Smith & Nairn, Maori Evidence (Nat. Archives Ms MA/67): <i>Kaiapoi</i> throughout, e.g. Natanahira Waruwarutu's evidence (MA 67/4 page 196-70).</p> <p>1880(?) Paora Taki's ms of the wars with Ngatitooa: <i>Kaiapoi</i>.</p> <p>1884 J.W. Stack, <i>Maori History in Jacobson's Stories of Banks Peninsula</i> 1893: <i>Kaiapoi</i> throughout, acknowledging 'Mr and Mrs Tikao' (i.e. Tamati Tikao) among his Maori informants.</p> <p><u>1893</u> J.W. Stack, <i>Kaiapohia - The Story of a Siege: Kaiapohia</i> as the 'formal' name for Kaiapoi pa.</p> <p><u>1898</u> J.W. Stack, <i>South Island Maoris - A Sketch of their History and Legendary Lore</i>: here Stack is somewhat ambivalent. In the body of the text, where he acknowledges Pita Te Hori as his main source, Stack uses <i>Kaiapoi</i> as the name of the pa - until he comes to 'the capture of Kaiapohia by Te Rauparaha'.</p> |
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- 1906 W.T.L. Travers and J.W. Stack, *The Stirring Times of Te Rauparaha and The Sacking of Kaiapohia*: in 'The Stirring Times' Travers (page 130), in contrast to his 1872 publication, says the name of the pa was *Kaiapohia*, while 'The Sacking' uses the name *Kaiapohia* throughout, this being a reprint of Stack's 1893 'Story of a Siege'.
- 1911 T.L. Buick, *An Old New Zealander - Te Rauparaha, the Maori Napoleon: Kaiapoi*.
- 1914 T.M. Hocken, *Lecturette on the Maoris of the South Island in The Early History of New Zealand*, given at the 'Maori Carnival at Karitane' in 1901: *Kaiapoi*.
- 1927 Johannes Andersen on *The Early History of Canterbury* in Speight, Wall & Laing (Eds.) *Natural History of Canterbury*: Andersen in his text calls the old Maori pa *Kaiapohia*, but his reduction of Captain Thomas' 1849 map shows the *Old Pa of Kaiapoi*.
- 1935 Roger Duff, *Tribal Maori and the Great Society* (Unpublished M.A. thesis): *Kaiapohia*, on the authority of Stack.
- 1939 Herries Beattie, *Tikao Talks - Traditions and Tales told by Teone Taare Tikao to Herries Beattie*: 'the name was never *Kaiapohia*'.
- 1945 Herries Beattie, *Maori Place Names of Canterbury*: *Kaiapoi* is the only form of the name given.
- 1949 Johannes Anderson, *Old Christchurch in Picture and Story* (compiled in the 1920): *Kaiapohia* is used in referring to the old pa.
- 1950 W.A. Taylor, *Lore and History of the South Island Maori*: *Kaiapohia* is used for the old pa, citing Stack and (incorrectly) Shortland.
- 1957 J. Hight & C.R. Straubel, *A History of Canterbury* Vol 1: Carl Straubel in his chapter 'The Maori to 1840' uses *Kaiapohia* throughout, acknowledging Tamihana Te Rauparaha's *Narrative of the Origins and Progress of the Wars of the Ngatitua with the Ngaitahu* (Hocken MS 96), and J.W. Stack's publications, among his sources.
- 1958 P.B. Maling, *The Torlesse Papers*: the endpaper maps make an interesting comparison. The first is a copy of Torlesse's 1849, map of Canterbury, certified by Captain Thomas, which shows "Old Pah of Kaiapoi", But the second, a modern drawing 'compiled from an 1852 Map', labels the site as *Kaiapohia*. The '1852 Map' is not identified, and no survey map of that period has so far been found with the name *Kaiapohia*.
- 1966 J. M. Sherrard, *Kaikoura - A History of the District: Kaiapoi*.
- 1967 A.H. McLintock (Ed.), *An Encyclopedia of New Zealand* (Vol 2, page 198): *Kaiapohia* for the name of the pa.
- 1978 S. Natusch, *The Cruise of the Acheron*: the book is dedicated to 'The Descendants of the Maori Defenders of Kaiapohia', and the author uses *Kaiapohia* in the text; however, Hansard's 'Acheron' journal on which Natusch bases her narrative still has to be checked.
- 1980 P. Butler (Ed.), *Life & Times of Te Rauparaha* (Tamihana's narrative): *Kaiapohia*.
- 1981 B.J. Brailsford, *The Tattooed Land - The Southern Frontiers of the Pa Maori: Kaiapohia*.
- 1981 P.B. Maling, *Early Sketches and Charts of Banks Peninsula: Kaiapohia* is used in the text and appears on the James Wyld map as noted above, while the reproduction of Mantell's 1848 sketch-map (page 66) shows the site of the old pa as *Kaiapoi*.
- 1982 M. Trotter in N. Prickett (ed.), *The First Thousand Years, Regional Perspectives in N.Z. Archaeology: Kaiapohia*.
- 1982 R. Grover, *Cork of War - Ngati Toa and the British Mission: Kaiapoi*.
- 1984 J. Davidson, *The Prehistory of New Zealand: Kaiapoi*.
- 1986 H.C. Evison, *Ngai Tahu Land Rights: Kaiapoi*
- 1988 B. Mikaere, *Te Maiharoa and the Promised Land: Kaiapoi*.
- 1989 M. Trotter and B. McCulloch: *Unearthing New Zealand: Kaiapohia*.
- 1990 W.H. Oliver (Ed.), *The Dictionary of N.Z. Biography*, Vol I: *Kaiapoi*.
- 1990 G. Ogilvie, *Banks Peninsula, Cradle of Canterbury: Kaiapohia*.

NOTES:

¹ Hocken Ms 23.

² Pages 100, 121, 261, 284, 285 & 303.

³ Mackay's Compendium Vol 1, page 215.

⁴ Teoti Wiremu Metehau to Mantell, 22 February 1849, Mantell folder 193, Maori letters, Alexander Turnbull Library, translated by L.F. Head for the Waitangi Tribunal.

⁵ Matiaha Tiramorehu to Governor Eyre, 22 Oct 1849. (Mackay Compendium 1873).

⁶ Matiaha Tiramorehu to Mantell, 21 March 1867, Maori letters, Mantell folder 198. Translated by L.F. Head for the Waitangi Tribunal.

⁷ Personal communication from Te Aue Davis.

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